

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USBERL 01069 031906Z

63

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 EB-07 OMB-01 BIB-01 /083 W

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FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1010

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USBERLIN 1069

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, WB, UK, UR, FR

SUBJECT: WAR OF WORDS ON BERLIN

REF: (A) USBERLIN 1043; (B) USBERLIN 1026

1. SUMMARY: SPATE OF SOVIET-GDR STATEMENTS ON STATUS OF BERLIN HAS SOME BERLIN OBSERVERS CONCERNED, OTHERS RELAXED. NO ONE CLAIMS TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT EAST HAS IN MIND, ALTHOUGH VEHEMENCE, IMPERTINENCE, AND IN-EXACTITUDE OF RECENT SOVIET AND GDR COMMENTS SEEM TO GO BEYOND GENERAL RUN OF POST-QA POLEMICS. IN ADDITION TO SEVERAL THEORIES ADVANCED AS TO EASTERN MOTIVATION, IT OCCURS TO US SOVIETS-GDR MAY BE BUILDING UP FRESH EXPOSITION OF THEIR BERLIN THEORY AGAINST WHICH THEY WILL INTERPRET WHATEVER QRR LANGUAGE EMERGES FROM  
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PAGE 02 USBERL 01069 031906Z

CSCE. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE WEST SHOULD RESPOND IN

MEASURED TONES IF ONLY TO ESTABLISH RECORD AS CLEAR AS THAT EAST IS SEEKING TO BUILD UP END SUMMARY.

2. THOSE WHO REGARD ABRASIMOV STATEMENT, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND EDITORIAL AND COMPANION PIECES IN MOSCOW PRESS AND RADIO (REFTELS) AS POSSIBLE HARBINGERS OF SUBSEQUENT ACTION CITE UNEXPECTED RETURN OF ABRASIMOV TO BERLIN, ORCHESTRATED CHARACTER OF CAMPAIGN, AND RENEWAL OF ONE LONG-DISCARDED GDR TENET ALONG WITH THREAT REPORTED REF A AS REASONS FOR THEIR CONCERN. OUR RESEARCH INDICATES THAT GDR LAST REFERRED TO WEST BERLIN AS "SITUATED ON TERRITORY OF GDR" IN NOV 6, 1970, ARTICLE IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. SINCE THEN GDR FORMULATIONS ON STATUS OF WEST BERLIN HAVE AVOIDED THIS ARGUMENT. SOMEWHAT IMPERTINENT FORMULATION THAT FOUR POWERS AGREED ON STATUS OF WEST BERLIN IN QA (DESPITE CLEAR STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR RUSH IN SEPT 22, 1971 SPEECH TO BERLIN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE THAT QA COVERED GREATER BERLIN) AGAIN SUGGESTS EAST IS GOING FARTHER THAN IT HAS SINCE QA AND QD WERE AGREED. SENATOR FOR FEDERAL AFFAIRS STOBBE SUMMED UP THIS VIEW IN JUNE 1 MORGENPOST INTERVIEW WHEN HE SAID VEHEMENCE OF EASTERN REACTION IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH QA SPIRIT AND IS NEW ELEMENT WHICH GIVES CAUSE FOR CONCERN.

3. THOSE WHO DISMISS EASTERN CAMPAIGN NOTE THAT EACH SOVIET-GDR STATEMENT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSE TO SOME WESTERN ACTION: RESPONSE TO WESTERN NOTE OF MARCH 14 (IN TURN REPLYING TO 1974 SOVIET NOTE) RE UN DEMOGRAPHIC YEARBOOK; MAY 21 VISIT TO BERLIN OF FONMIN GENSCHER, ACCOMPANYING SECRETARY KISSINGER: AND BERLIN STATEMENT OF FONMINS ON MAY 29 AFTER QUAD BREAKFAST (PARIS 13534). UNTIL STOBBE STATEMENT CITED ABOVE, GOVMAYOR AND SENAT OFFICIALS HAD TENDED TO SAY IN PRIVATE THAT EAST HAD ONLY REACTED WHEN THEIR POSITIONS WERE PUBLICLY CHALLENGED BY WEST.

4. MORE DIFFICULT QUESTION IS SOVIET-GDR PURPOSE IN REVIVING OLD DEBATE ABOUT STATUS OF BERLIN. FEW WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN EXPECT THEORETICAL ARGUMENT  
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PAGE 03 USBERL 01069 031906Z

TO BE TRANSLATED IN NEAR FUTURE INTO CONCRETE ACTION ON ACCESS ROUTES. ONE POSSIBLE PURPOSE-TO IMPROVE SOVIET-GDR POSITION IN TRADE TALKS WITH FRG- DOES NOT SEEM TOO PLAUSIBLE SINCE PRESSURE ON BERLIN MIGHT, IF ANYTHING, DAMPEN BONN'S WILLINGNESS AND POLITICAL ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE NEEDED CREDITS. A MORE PLAUSIBLE THEORY IS THAT SOVIET CONCERN WITH CSCE MAY BE INVOLVED. SOME OF OUR CONTACTS SAY THAT

SOVIET PURPOSE IN CSCE IS TO ESTABLISH  
INVIOABILITY OF EXISTING FRONTIERS, AND THEREFORE  
SOVIETS MIGHT WISH TO DEMONSTRATE THAT GDR  
FRONTIER RUNS INSIDE BERLIN BEFORE CONCLUSION OF  
CONFERENCE. SIMILARLY, SOVIETS MIGHT WISH TO

ESTABLISH RECORD OF STATEMENTS BEFORE AGREEING TO  
AMBIGUOUS QRR DECLARATION OPEN TO VARYING INTERPRETA-  
TIONS. NEITHER OF THESE ARGUMENTS EXCLUDES COMPANION  
THEORY THAT SOVIETS ARE LAYING GROUNDWORK FOR POST-  
CSCE DIPLOMATIC ONSLAUGHT ON BERLIN STATUS.

5. WITH RESPECT TO GDR THREAT (WHICH WE NOTE DID NOT  
APPEAR IN MAY 31 PRAVDA SUMMARY OF MAY 30 ND  
EDITORIAL), SOME OBSERVERS HERE POSTULATE THAT NEXT  
YEAR'S ELECTION OF VOLKSKAMMER DEPUTIES IN GDR  
WOULD PROVIDE GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR GDR TO DO AWAY  
WITH ESTABLISHED SYSTEM OF ELECTING BERLIN REPS  
SEPARATELY FROM THOSE FROM REMAINDER OF GDR. THIS  
WOULD CERTAINLY BE ON MEANS OF "MAKING CLEARER" TO  
FRG (AS ND THREAT HAD IT) THAT EAST BERLIN IS INTEGRAL  
PART OF GDR. OTHERWISE, GDR THREAT IS CAREFULLY  
WORDED AND COULD BE CARRIED OUT IN VARIETY OF WAYS OR  
SIMPLY DROPPED.

6 NO ONE REALLY HAS ANY GOOD IDEA WHY EAST HAS BEEN  
STIRRING BERLIN POT SO VIGOROUSLY THESE PAST FEW  
WEEKS. OUR SUSPICION REMAINS THAT SOVIETS AND EAST  
GERMANS ARE SEEKING TO ACHIEVE WIDER ACCEPTANCE OF  
"AREAL SITUATION IN BERLIN", BY WHICH THEY MEAN THAT  
QA APPLIES ONLY TO WEST BERLIN. THEY CAN EXPECT  
CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FOR THAT VIEW FROM NEUTRAL  
AND EVEN SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES. NEXT STEP COULD BE  
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PAGE 04 USBERL 01069 031906Z

REQUEST FOR CONSULTATIONS ON APPLICATION OF QA TO  
WEST BERLIN, WHICH WOULD BE NO-LOSE EXERCISE FOR  
THEM. FAZ ON JUNE 3 SPECULATES THAT SOVIETS MAY BE  
BANKING ON TOTAL LACK OF WESTERN INTEREST IN FOUR-  
POWER CONSULTATIONS TO TRY TO SQUEEZE OUT WHAT WILL AMOUNT TO  
CONCESSIONS FROM WEST; BY BEFAULT. EVEN AT RISK OF ADDING TO  
WORD LOW OURSELVES, WE RECOMMENT THAT MEASURED BUT CLEAR RESPONSES  
BE MADE TO SOVIET STATEMENTS SO THAT OUR OWN RECORD WILL STAND UP  
AS CLEARLY AS THEIRS. GEORGE

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